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ABSTRACT

The Student Consultant Project (SCP) of the University of Pittsburgh is a university-based operation which has been channeling university resources into the community. Part I of this study, covering the history of SCP, emphasizes the organization, the board of directors, scope of activities, funding, and future plans. Part II discusses the institution-building framework. Goals of the university, the SCP, the Graduate School of Business, and the client community are presented. Stress is also placed on the program, organizational structure, leadership, and resources. A 14-item bibliography and appendices of realted material are included. (MJM)

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THE STUDENT CONSULTANT PROJECT

By

Christina Jarema

June, 1973

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THE STUDENT CONSULTANT PROJECT

Introduction

The Student Consultant Project (SCP) was chosen for study by the University-Urban Interface Program* as an example of a university-based operation which has been channeling University resources into the community. This project is designed to bring technical assistance from the University of Pittsburgh to ghetto businessmen. SCP represents a working model of student involvement with social action, an ongoing effort within the community emphasizing cooperation between the University and one of its constituencies. Since its inception in October, 1969, the project has won considerable support from community organizations, students, and University administrators.

As an example of University-urban interaction, the project attracted the attention of the University-Urban Interface Program as a candidate for research under one of the five priorities of the program: Minority and Community Services. SCP was operational and providing ongoing services to the community, but in the early stages of development when University-Urban Interface Program research began. Because of the opportunity to monitor the process of implementation, to document achievements and problems, and to offer guidelines to others who are interested in such efforts, the Student Consultant Project was chosen as one of four case studies of community service-oriented projects undertaken in the research program under Minority and Community Services.

The mandate in the grant for the University-Urban Interface Program was to study ongoing efforts, rather than implement them. This report, therefore, constitutes a chronicling and an analysis of the project from a research viewpoint. Data was collected for the case study in a number of ways. One member of the research staff acted as principal liaison with the project, visiting the office, talking to personnel, attending meetings, and generally observing. Much information was collected from interviews with the chairman, project officers, and other involved students, as well as with faculty members and administrators in the Graduate School of Business where the project was lodged. Another source of information has been in formal reports and documents emanating from the Student Consultant Project, the Graduate School of Business, and the University of Pittsburgh. Project files afforded data on student involvement, client response, and the extent and nature of relationships to community agencies. Articles in the mass media provided additional insights into community and University reaction to the project. Finally, two reports by faculty and graduate students involved in SCP for the University-Urban Interface Program were invaluable sources of information for the research. (Koleda and Tita, 1971; Kilmer, 1973)

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*The University-Urban Interface Program was federally-funded by the Office of Education to study the interface between an urban university and its social environment. The overall goal was to provide insights into the management of community-University relations which will be useful in decision-making and policy formation, both at the University of Pittsburgh, where the research was undertaken, and elsewhere.

PART I

Pre-History

The beginnings of the Student Consultant Project (SCP) stem from the time that American society was recuperating from the large scale civil disorders of 1966, 1967, and 1968. Much of society began to realize that much more could be done to improve the situation for blacks. The University of Pittsburgh administration was no exception in experiencing a need for change in this direction. A new Chancellor arrived at Pitt with his own ideas concerning the role of the University in society:

> In 1967, Chancellor Posvar, in his first official communication to the institution's academic offices, requested an inventory of all educational, research, and advisory service activities relating to the University's contribution to urban development. . .The Chancellor declared that one of his principle concerns would be to strengthen the programs listed in the report and embark on new undertakings to relate the University of Pittsburgh to the community. (Plan for OUCS, 1969:3)

All deans and department heads held meetings with several community agencies to discuss ways in which the University could become "involved". Members of the Graduate School of Business (GSB) met with the directors of Neighborhood Centers Association (NCA), an established community-based inter-agency organization, to discuss what role, if any, the Graduate School of Business might play in alleviating social problems. A team of business faculty developed a research proposal to identify and define problem areas in the black neighborhood of which NCA was a part. Masters candidates from GSB were utilized to gather data for the proposal. However, business school faculty were largely inexperienced in formulating programs for solving minority business problems, and NCA was experiencing its own internal problems since its board was without an executive director. The research which was accomplished did not provide for any action-oriented program in the community.

It was apparent that most University departments had no previous experience in minority affairs. A central office was therefore needed within the University to serve as a communication link between experts in both University and community affairs. The Office of Urban and Community Services (OUCS) was established independent of any specific University department for the purpose of matching University expertise with community problems.

History of the Student Consultant Project

In the Fall of 1969, the Graduate School of Business admitted its first sizeable class of black business students. Among these six blacks was William Tiga Tita, originally from the African Republic of the Cameroons. Tita had attended undergraduate school at Duke University and then was admitted to the Graduate Business School at Pitt first as a Masters candidate and later as a doctoral candidate. He was extremely interested in involving himself, his fellow students, and the faculty in an action-oriented program of student consulting and experiential learning. Up to this time, the GSB had no internship program or experiential learning component in any part of its curriculum; therefore, Tita's ideas were innovative for GSB.

Tita had read about student consulting projects at other universities, and one of the other new black students had been involved in such a project at Savannah State College as an undergraduate. Tita wrote for information from other universities and abstracted particular ideas from each; thus the organizational set up of the Student Consultant Project was a unique combination of ideas from several sources.

Tita posted a notice on the department bulletin board outlining the prospective goals of the project and requesting volunteers from the faculty and graduate student body. Approximately 40 students signed the roster, and 33 became actively involved in SCP efforts. This turnout represented approximately 25 per cent of the GSB student body. No faculty members signed the roster or attended the first meeting. A committee was formed from the original participants to write a proposal which outlined organizational structure. After the first meeting, all the faculty were sent memoranda inviting them to participate in the project, and 24 out of 60 replied. Although they expressed an interest, only three or four came to subsequent meetings.

With some assistance from a committee formed from the original members of SCP, Tita wrote the Charter of the Student Consultant Program and showed it to the director of University-Community Educational Programs who offered his support.

The preliminary organization was composed solely of students. While the students were being organized, initial contacts were also made in the black ghetto communities. Individuals at such business organizations as the Homewood Board of Trade, the Business League in Manchester, Small Business Administration, Community Action Pittsburgh, Business and Job Development Corporation, and several more were visited. Each of these organizations expressed great interest and enthusiasm when offered student resources.

Tita was interested in contacting organizations already existing in the two areas of Pittsburgh with the highest concentrations of blacks, but he also felt that an effective entre would be found through various individuals in the University who already had contacts in the communities. Tita asked Mr. William Kindle (a newly-hired black administrator at GSB) to accompany him to the newly-established University Office of Urban and Community Services (OUCS). OUCS helped the project in two ways. First, one OUCS administrator set up an appointment for the project chairman and Mr. Kindle with the Business and Professional Men's Association (BPA), a

black community-based organization. The SCP proposal to work with businessmen was presented to BPA, and it was readily accepted with minor suggestions. Second, a coordinator at OUCS, in cooperation with the BPA, recruited minority businessmen for SCP. Since the coordinator lived in the community, he was in a position to find businessmen who were having financial problems. Members of BPA and OUCS not only referred businessmen to SCP but also undertook to explain SCP's program to the entire community.

During this time, the organizational structure of the project began to be formalized so that SCP could efficiently meet clients' needs. When the proposal for a Student Consultant Project was completed and community organizations had become supportive, the Dean of the Business School arranged for the new project to have office space in the business school, a part-time secretary from work-study, and a typewriter.

During the first year, even before the formal organizational structure was completed, the 33 students who had signed up to become involved in consulting actually went into the community to provide basic technical assistance to minority businessmen. The clients were referred to SCP by various organizations already active in the community, from which businessmen had requested aid. Many referrals came from the Small Business Administration (SBA), a federal agency which provides loans, and from associations made up of businessmen themselves. Besides answering referrals from agencies and associations, the students appeared at various community meetings and publicized their program. Members of SCP never went out into the community and actually recruited clients. This policy of relying on established agencies for referrals seems to have been very helpful in gaining cooperation and acceptance.

SCP has been, and remains, a client-centered operation. During the first year, the 33 students devoted approximately five hours each per week to bringing technical assistance to a total of 22 clients. A central aim of SCP was to provide technical assistance in basic bookkeeping and accounting (through individual consultation and group seminars) and to disseminate information concerning goods and services already available in the communities. The clients were mainly the owners of small businesses operating in the Hill District and Homewood, which contain Pittsburgh's two major concentrations of blacks. A few students from the Law School and from the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA) also volunteered to consult along with some students from Carnegie-Mellon University's Graduate School of Industrial Administration. One of the GSPIA students interested in SCP was David Freedman, a doctoral student who was collecting data in the community on the effectiveness of technical assistance programs to black businessmen in the Pittsburgh area. His study not only provided information to SCP leadership, but it also confirmed the belief that the minority business community was in dire need of a new type of program to provide technical assistance.

The Organization

The activity of the student consultants included not only consulting in the field, but also working to make SCP a viable and efficient organization. The Charter of the Student Consultant Project provided for an

elected body of students to serve as officers of the organization. The officers' tasks were delineated in the Charter. The roster of officers included a Chairman, who oversees all activities of SCP and maintains contact with outside organizations; a Controller, who administers financial matters; a Central Coordinator who collects reports from consultants and oversees progress made with clients; a Publicity Officer, who edits a monthly newsletter and helps the Chairman in fund-raising; Client Representatives, who screen potential clients and match the consultants with the clients' problem areas; a Central Coordinating Committee, which assists the Central Coordinator; and Consultants. (Charter, 1969:5-6) The Charter also provided for a Board of Directors whose responsibilities will be discussed later in this section.

All of these officers and consultants are crucial to the daily process of taking on clients, identifying specific problem areas, seeing that a consultant with the proper skills is assigned to the appropriate client, allotting time to the client, evaluating the progress that has or has not been made with the client's problem, and passing on proper and complete records of clients to the next class of consultants and officers each new year. Such records are essential for continuity since the great majority of students involved in the project have been in the Masters Program which means that they are only at the school for one year. The way the project organization actually functioned will be described in detail later in this report.

The first group of students found it virtually impossible to operate without some kind of remuneration to cover transportation costs and other expenses, since services were rendered to clients free of charge. Tita, who very early was made Chairman and Program Director of SCP, found himself not only involved with SCP's day-to-day operations, but also with securing funds to ensure the existence and continuity of the project.

The Board of Directors

One way to ensure or elicit outside support (moral and possibly financial) is to form a reasonably strong Board of Directors. The designated purpose of the SCP Board is "to provide continuity and communications between SCP and business concerns; provide leadership for the development of SCP philosophy and goals; oversee SCP action and in particular the actions of its officers to ensure the fulfillment of the organizational goals; supervise and audit financial affairs of SCP including approval of Budgets". (Charter, 1969:5) The Charter of the Student Consultant Project provided that a minimum of eleven and a maximum of eighteen members be elected to the Board by the membership of the SCP. Its composition would always include a maximum of five members from the client community served; a maximum of four members from the staff of participating academic organizations, either faculty or administration; a maximum of four members from community organizations active in providing funds or services to the client community and/or SCP; and a maximum of two members from the active student participants in SCP.

The original Board members were recruited from University offices and from community organizations who were instrumental in the establishment of the project, helping SCP to recruit clients and become known to the business community. They met formally for the first time May, 1970. The impact of the Board upon SCP will be discussed in Part II of this report.

Scope of Activities*

Although essentially client-centered and minority-centered in its daily operations, it must be remembered that students and officers of SCP realized very early in project history that neither they nor their clientele operated in a vacuum. From his own knowledge of the complexities of the ghetto and of society in general and from the information brought back from the students who were engaged in consulting, Tita was constantly concerned about the conditions under which minority businessmen operate. SCP had to have a multi-dimensional approach built into it. It would be concerned with seeking the cooperation of major corporations such as banks and industry, of selected social organizations, and of the University for potential financial and professional resources. Special projects were developed, such as working for the formation of a credit union, cooperatives, a University "Buy Black" campaign, and sponsoring a series of seminars for community and University people dealing with specific and general problems of black businesses.

During the first year of operation, the most important meeting organized by SCP in cooperation with members of the black business community was the First Annual Small Businessmen's Night, held in July, 1970. Its purpose was to acquaint the community with SCP and with one another. Those attending included over 200 individuals from local banks, the Pittsburgh Police, the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, the University of Pittsburgh, various small businesses, and other governmental, social and business agencies. The event featured three short presentations, followed by five discussion groups, and ended with a general "rap" session.

This meeting was successful on several counts. First, individuals were brought together who were unaware of each other's existence and commonality of purpose. Second, minority businessmen were made aware of opportunities for enhancing their businesses (availability of loans and other resources). Third, SCP was asked to teach a bookkeeping course to interested businessmen in space donated by Business and Job Development (BJD), an office of the federal Department of Commerce. Fourth, the University of Pittsburgh's Vice Chancellor for Finance promised to award a University contract to a minority business.

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*A list of all the projects SCP has been involved in is presented as Appendix A.

During the first year, student consultants were asked to perform services for the community beyond the expected one-to-one consulting activity. One example was the bookkeeping course for Business and Job Development referred to above. SCP members also delivered lectures to other classes held by BJD.

By June, 1970, the first group of students who had been active in the project graduated, and most had found permanent employment in various corporations. A few continued to consult with the clients they had worked with during the academic year; but on the whole, this group was "lost" to the project. Some clients were left in limbo until a new class of students could arrive at the School of Business and provide consulting services.

In September, 1970, the new students arrived. Of 18 black students in the class, 17 became SCP consultants. Six white students also joined, creating a total of 23. The new group of students continued to offer consulting services to individual businessmen and to engage in activities similar to the previous year. A second bookkeeping seminar was held, with a new group of 25 businessmen participating.

In July, 1971, the summer of the project's second year of operation, a Second Annual Small Businessmen's Night took place. Its purpose, like that of the first, was to bring together members of the business community (black and white) and University people for an information exchange and for airing problems. One of the major topics at this event was the unavailability of insurance for ghetto businesses. All participants agreed upon a united front to petition the state insurance office. Another major topic was the lack of success some businessmen had in securing contracts from the University. During the last annual meeting, University administrators had assured the participants that the University would seek out minority businesses; however, it transpired that only one contract had been awarded between 1971 and 1972. The Assistant Director of Purchasing at Pitt explained that a major difficulty was in finding minority businesses, since there was no directory and therefore no information. To remedy this, SCP decided to do a directory of black businesses in one of the major black communities in the area.*

Funding

The Chairman of the project, in the search for funding, became acquainted with another doctoral student at Pitt who was working at Community Action Pittsburgh (CAP). This student helped Tita to prepare a proposal to CAP which was submitted in May, 1970. Approval was given in June, 1970, and finally CAP awarded $40,000 to the project for the period from March, 1971 to March, 1972. As a condition of the grant, the Office

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*A Hill District Directory was compiled before the year was out. When this directory was completed, all the businessmen and students realized its value and began to seek funds for putting together a directory of black businesses for the entire city. A request was made January, 1972, to the Minority Business Opportunity Committee through BJD for funds to complete the directory. Work was begun with the hope that money would come through.

of Chairman was to be separated from the Office of Project Director. The Chairman would be elected by the students, and the Director would be a salaried, full-time person, preferably a Ph.D. candidate. The Director was not to be elected. The grant was to be administered by the University, although the University did not control the CAP-approved budget.

In September, 1970, the University-Urban Interface Program invited the student consultant group to submit a proposal to document, analyze, and discuss their project. In February, 1971, UUIP authorized a case study in which special emphasis was to be placed on three areas: an historical overview of the Student Consultant Project; a manual of procedures for the consultant; and a report on problem areas focusing on communication, control, information flow, and analysis. The study culminated in a report which will be described more fully in the section of this report which is concerned with analysis. (Koleda and Tita, 1971) This was SCP's first attempt at self-evaluation. It delineates the specific job and service functions to be accomplished. It also provides consultant guidelines for all SCP participants. The discussion in the report of the various problem areas could serve as a valuable source of information for any university or organizational group planning to build a similar consulting operation.

In August, 1972, a second proposal was submitted to UUIP for funds to cover the writing of an updated evaluative description of SCP with particular emphasis on the development of community linkages. The results were reports by two former consultants from the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs and the Graduate School of Business doctoral program. (Kilmer, 1973; Wokutch, 1973)

In 1972 and 1973, plans were made to increase involvement with outside organizations (handling more referrals, taking part in additional projects and seminars). At the same time, it was also planned to strengthen the project internally by having a proposed associate director assume more control of the internal operations, and recruiting a full-time salaried director to assume the responsibility of dealing with outside organizations. A proposal was submitted to Community Action Pittsburgh for $75,400. CAP had been funding the project and had advocated hiring a salaried director. However, like many agencies at this time, CAP had begun to experience its own financial problems. As a consequence, in the Spring of 1972, CAP renewed the SCP grant, but only for $21,000--approximately one half the amount granted for the previous year. Expansion of SCP was halted, and consultants, in fact, had to devote fewer rather than more hours to their clients.

Although manpower was limited due to funding cutbacks, by late 1972 SCP had made an agreement whereby the Small Business Administration (SBA) would give the project $5,000 to cover the cost of consulting services to 20 clients who had acquired or were attempting to acquire loans from SBA. The latter organization did not have the manpower to follow up its loan recipients and advise them on sound business practices. This agreement between SBA and SCP was renewed in the Spring of 1973, when 20 additional clients were referred to the project under a similar agreement.

Plans for the Future

The future of the Student Consultant Project lies not only in the acquisition of operating funds, but in its ability to achieve its goals of upgrading the ghetto economy and integrating its own activities with the academic environment of which it is a part. The Chairman feels that these major goals can be accomplished by striving for an ongoing viable relationship with the ghetto and its agencies and with the Graduate School of Business.

As with other projects related to minority and community services, particularly those within the UUIP Operation Outreach group, SCP offers the prospect of collective benefits to the community, the particular businessmen it serves, and the University. Specifically, the students and the School of Business benefit from experience and reciprocity with the ghetto entrepreneurs. At this time (June, 1973), an SCP proposal is being considered by the Federal Foundation for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education. If this proposal is approved, the plan would provide considerable support over approximately three years, allowing continued improvement and analysis of the project.

In the following section of this paper, the organization known as the Student Consultant Project will be studied as an entity within an institution and as an entity which by its nature must deal with external collectivities. The internal and external operations and relationships will be explored using the institution-building framework in Part II of this report.

PART II: The Institution-Building Framework

The scholars who created the institution-building model have provided a framework by which organizations which were created specifically to bring about change can be studied and analyzed. According to one of these scholars, the agents of planned change, like those who created SCP specifically have as their objectives:

> . . .to build viable and effective organizations which develop support and complementarities in their environment. This support permits the innovations to take root, gain acceptance, become normative and thus institutionalized in society. (Esman, 1972:21)

The target organization, that is, the organization which was founded primarily to effect some social change, is studied and analyzed by describing certain internal facets of the organization, as well as its social environment. The major variables delineated are:

Internal: Goals
Program
Leadership
Personnel
Resources
Organization or Internal Structure

External: Enabling Linkages
Functional Linkages
Normative Linkages
Diffuse Linkages

Each of these variables is studied from three perspectives:

(1) Blueprint or Normative (how it is supposed to be)

(2) Actual Operation (how it really is)

(3) Images (how internal and external groups or individuals see the various facets of the organization)

Goals

Institutions, organizations, and societies at large have explicit or implicit goals and purposes which legitimize their existence and guide the behavior of their constituents. The goals of society are often nebulous and not stated formally, but an organization like the Student Consultant Project or an institution like the University of Pittsburgh must define its objectives and have guidelines by which to operate. The University and SCP are both part of the larger society, and have formulated goals which appear to be acceptable and desirable to that society, or at least those segments which are affected.

The University

The University's traditional stated purposes have been to educate and to research. In the past few years, many universities have restated their goals to include performing public service. The University of Pittsburgh is no exception in planning an added dimension. In the Winter of 1970, in the "Report of the Chancellor", Chancellor Posvar stated:

> When I came to the University of Pittsburgh three and a half years ago, I predicted that the American university would undergo reorientation toward greater public service in the coming decade. I also suggested that the university would acquire a higher order of public responsibility, that it would become a creative center for a new society--for its communication systems, its social patterns, and its economic and political structures. The university has

> added to its list of high priority objectives a new dimension to accompany its energetic drive for quality in educational and research activities. This includes humanizing and making more habitable the urban environment and providing opportunities for continuing the education for an ever-widening array of people. (Posvar, 1970:1)

All academic departments of the University were called upon at that time to suggest ways which they could perform this service function while carrying on traditional education-research activities. The first effort of the Graduate School of Business to become involved with minority problems was primarily research-oriented. At the same time, however, the school admitted a group of black students who became concerned about the lack of an action-oriented program in the business school which would serve the minority community.

The Student Consultant Project

The goals upon which SCP was founded emphasized the service dimension for the minority business community:

1. To help create black economic power in Pittsburgh by strengthening client businesses or organizations, by creating additional jobs and by raising managerial skill levels and pride of our clients. (Charter, 1969:1)

However, the stated goals also contained an education-research orientation so that SCP could satisfy the traditional needs of students and faculty:

2. To focus the attention of the business school faculty upon pressing problems facing the Pittsburgh black business community.

3. To open up a channel of communication between the business students and black businessmen; this may prove to be a major value of the project as the students and their black clients are thrown together often in confronting major problems.

4. To provide students with practical field experience working with businesses during the school year. (Charter, 1969:1)

The doctrine which SCP as an organization espouses has not changed since its inception. However, during its first year of operation, a perceptual problem arose which has since been overcome. "It was apparent that some first year consultants and clients did not clearly understand SCP objectives." (Freedman, 1971:190) Students and clients both learned that such an innovative organization cannot change society overnight, and

that it is a serious liability for students and clients when overly high expectations are fostered. By the second year, an intensive orientation was adopted to ensure that students are forewarned of their own limitations and also of the extremely precarious nature of ghetto economies. By 1973, in addition, plans were formulated for a retreat that would include students, clients, instructors, and professionals. "It was hoped that such an experience would increase the consultant's awareness of the community, the limitations and potential of SCP, and promote a better understanding of how he can make a meaningful contribution to the community through his work in SCP." (Tita, 1973)

The Graduate School of Business

The perceptions of the various faculty and administrators concerning the activities and goals of SCP should be described, since course credit has never been awarded to the students involved and faculty have not maximized research potential in the area of minority business. The Graduate School of Business has never had an experiential learning component in any part of its curriculum, that is, community placements for students are not a part of the program as they are in some other professional schools. Such placements involve problems in evaluation and supervision to a degree which makes many schools and departments reluctant to get involved with them. There have been special projects assigned by various faculty members which entailed data collection in the field, but no courses have specifically dealt with problems of minority businesses or the ghetto economy.*

During an interview, the Associate Dean of the Graduate School of Business stated that he was proud of the student consultants for devoting so much time in the ghetto, but that he also was concerned that some students might be jeopardizing their academic performance by not devoting sufficient time to their studies.**

During the retreat described earlier, one doctoral student who had been working with SCP for the past year and a half noted, "The general tendency among the faculty and administration of the business school is to view SCP as a means of relating to the wider community. There is some support for the contention that SCP is an educational device; however, just as widespread is the fear that SCP infringes on the student's time and the school's resources, thereby lowering educational quality.***

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*In the Spring of 1972, Tita submitted a proposal to GSB suggesting that courses be offered dealing with black business problems. The proposal was accepted in part and the result was one elective course offered during the Summer trimester of 1972, which Tita himself taught. Although the course was considered valuable by those who participated in it, the course was not helpful to SCP since it was offered late in the year when most consultants would soon be graduating.

**Interview with Dean Andrew Blair, December 15, 1971.

***Interview with Richard Wokutch, May 3, 1973.

Many professors have helped students with particular problems they have had with clients, but there has been little evidence of widespread ongoing commitment to project goals.*

According to one student who was the Central Coordinator during 1971-1972, students have felt that faculty members were not interested in minority problems. The students, too, have been afraid to approach faculty with elemental questions, since a large portion of consulting activity deals with problems of bookkeeping, accounting, and marketing, which students feel they are expected to know, even if they do not.**

The project chairman feels that one of the problems lies in the basic philosophical difference between theory and practice. Students have not been able to translate their field experiences into theoretically-oriented papers and projects which would not only be useful in offering expertise to businessmen and developing the conceptualizing talents of students, but would also satisfy the requirements of the faculty. It is hoped that the knowledge of the ghetto economy will stimulate student thinking after they have graduated and are working in society. The ghetto is viewed as an integral part of the larger economy so that its economic conditions affect the economy as a whole. Project leaders have felt that the potential for research in connection with SCP activities is quite high, but that this potential has not been much exercised by either students or faculty.

The Client Community

Student consultants have learned that most business problems they have encountered with black businessmen require that clients be taught skills in order to continue operating after the consultants have left. Independence is achieved if the client begins to utilize sound business planning of his own accord. Consultants have found it difficult to convince clients of the need to plan for the future. As one consultant has noted:

> Often consultants will advise the client towards practices common in the corporate world but foreign to the client. For instance, they may suggest taking an inventory, installing a new accounting system, or investing in capital expansion. Clients often balk at these suggestions because of their concern for short term problems. They will focus their interest on getting their books straightened out under their present bookkeeping system, solving tax problems, or repairing their present machinery. (Wokutch, 1973)

This problem can be eliminated only if the student can effectively show the client the relationship between long- and short-term planning.

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*Notable exceptions have been Professors Robert Perloff and Michael Koleda, who have been continuously interested in and supportive of SCP.

**According to an interview with a student consultant, July 25, 1972.

Summary

The goals of SCP, the Graduate School of Business, and the client community are generally compatible. Both SCP and the School of Business value education and research, but the former happens to value service more than the latter, and priorities are thus somewhat different. There is also rather little experience on the part of the faculty with problems of the minority community, and a lack of conceptualizing ability on the part of the students which would fulfill faculty norms. There is little incentive for faculty involvement in minority and small business problems. Students also have perceived wariness on the part of the faculty concerning experiential learning pursuits, which is connected with the aforementioned problems of evaluation and supervision. Integrating goals for education, research, and service with a proper balance acceptable to the School of Business remains a problem to be worked out if the project is to be firmly established as part of the school.

Program

The Charter of the Student Consultant Project, the earliest formal document to emanate from SCP, provided for a range of activities to be undertaken by that organization. Formally stated, they were, and remain:

a. Provision of consulting services for managers of small businesses or community organizations.

b. Sponsorship of programs to disseminate knowledge of relevant managerial techniques and problems to the client community.

c. Referral services where specialized professional competence is required.

d. To provide information for clients on how to obtain goods and services available through governmental agencies or other sources.

e. To provide clients with information on business opportunities.

(Charter, 1969:1)

It should be noted that the program specifications included activities apart from the student-client consultations, specifically, the "sponsorship of programs to disseminate knowledge of relevant managerial techniques and problems . . ." This provision was based on the knowledge that an innovative organization which was established to contribute to changing one part of an economy must concern itself simultaneously with many facets of the larger economic complex, including major corporations and institutions. The first organized attempt to bring corporations and institutions to bear on the pressing problems facing the ghetto businessman was the First Annual Small Businessmen's Night, followed by a bookkeeping course for interested entrepreneurs.

The University and community members who participated in the First Annual Small Businessmen's Night believed such programs to be a valuable and instructive facet of SCP activities. As one faculty participant noted:

> The discussion sessions were generally lively and often quite revealing. An atmosphere was created wherein persons with business on their mind could move from group to group, asking questions or speaking their piece. The participants listened, responded, and in several instances had their knuckles rapped. The program was meant to be informative. It was a success with information and opinion flowing both ways.
>
> Certainly persons who had a chance to talk with the Vice Chancellor and Assistant Vice Chancellor of Finance that evening came away with a new respect for the University's commitment to buy, wherever possible, from black businessmen. It was apparent that other offices and departments of the University, like the Graduate School of Business, had entered a new era of responsiveness to the needs of the minority business community. (Koleda, 1971:11)

Since then, SCP has sponsored a Second Annual Small Businessmen's Night, more bookkeeping courses, a marketing seminar, and other such meetings and lectures. These activities have been described in Part I of this paper.

Special projects were also undertaken to provide extra sources of information and cooperation. They included the compilation of a Black Business Directory and the publishing of a Case Study of SCP under a grant from the U. S. Office of Education under the auspices of the University-Urban Interface Program of the University of Pittsburgh. This study, entitled "The Student Consultant Project (SCP): A Case Study of Student Involvement in Social Action", was published in September, 1971, and was comprised of three major parts:

(1) "Historical Overview of the Student Consultant Project";

(2) "A Manual of Procedures for the Consultant"; and

(3) "Communication, Control, Information Flow and Analysis: A Report on Problem Areas in the Student Consultant Project".

Esman has defined program as "the translation of doctrine into concrete patterns of action and the allocation of energies and other resources within the institution itself and in relation to the external environment". (Esman, 1972:23) A great deal of energy has not only been channeled into the activities specified previously, but also into seeking funds and into the internal workings of SCP to ensure its continuity and survival. This

activity will be described in detail in the sections entitled "Organization", "Linkages", and "Resources" respectively.

It would be difficult to measure success or failure of consulting efforts in the black communities. Records from SCP indicate that more than 100 clients have received consulting assistance at one time or another from a total of 75 students over a three-year period. Help has been given to clients through activities outlined in the program specifications enumerated above; however, experience in dealing with the businessman's problems has confirmed the need for emphasizing a community-wide approach to dealing with problems that affect minority businessmen as a whole. The Chairman of SCP, in the most recent project activity report, has stated:

> The Student Consultant Project, in operation three years, has taken a leadership role in either stimulating or promoting the establishment of:
>
> -- the need for an effective merchandising program to obtain university, corporate and government contracts for minority businesses.
>
> -- more aggressive deposit programs for minority financial institutions.
>
> -- the need for more cooperation among minority businessmen to promote business development.
>
> -- a cooperative buying program for minority businessmen.
>
> -- the development of a city-wide credit union for minority businessmen.
>
> -- innovative business programs in institutions of higher learning, and the development of graduate courses on minority business development. (Tita, 1973)

Institutionalization of SCP into the Graduate School of Business might render SCP a more powerful force in the white-dominated economic community, and thus encourage fuller participation of agencies, corporations, and institutions in addressing minority economic conditions.

Organization

Since its inception, SCP's organizational structure has changed very little. However, energy has been channeled into the actual operations in this structure, especially in terms of communication flow which is essential to project efficiency and effectiveness.

The offices and job descriptions have been defined in the case study by Koleda and Tita and are paraphrased below:

Chairman: Oversees and coordinates all activities of the SCP, reports to all SCP personnel on program-related matters, represents SCP with outside organizations, serves on the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee.

Controller: Responsible for day-to-day financial matters, prepares budget and payroll, assists Chairman with other administrative duties, serves on Board of Directors and Executive Committee, assumes duties of Chairman in his absence.

Central Coordinator: Maintains background information on consultants, recommends consultants for particular assignments, coordinates data collection and processing, evaluates all projects, supervises Central Coordinating Committee.

Central Coordinating Committee: Assists Central Coordinator. A larger role is envisioned in the future as SCP grows.

Client Representative: Screens and assesses needs of all prospective clients through personal visits, obtains signature on Client Agreement Form, completes an SCP Application Form, evaluates cases for applicability to the SCP, recommends types of assistance necessary, should maintain contact with the client-consultant team.

Publicity Officer: Assigns articles to be written for SCP Newsletter and edits written materials, provides information to outside individuals or groups, assumes some responsibility for public relations.

Board of Directors: Provides leadership for development of the SCP philosophy and goals, oversees SCP activity, provides continuity, strengthens communication with overall business community, approves budgets, supervises financial affairs.

Executive Committee: Works with student officers to establish policy to guide SCP operations particularly in areas of community relations, financial support and budgetary decision-making, and organizational continuity, seeks nominations for Board membership, approves non-budgeted expenditures up to $100, calls meetings of student membership.

Student Consultant: A student consultant is asked to provide quality management assistance to his assigned client. He should strive to establish a firm working relationship from which he can bring to bear on the client's problems the knowledge and skills he possesses and any needed information to which he has access. The consultant is responsible for submitting to the Central Coordinator a bi-monthly or monthly report on consulting activities with respect to his client. (Kilmer, 1973:25)

One change was desired in this organizational structure during the first year of operation as a condition of a grant SCP was to receive. The Office of Chairman was to be made a separate office from that of the Project Director. The Chairman would be elected by the students and the Project Director would be a salaried, full-time person, preferably a Ph.D. candidate. Tita and the Board of Directors have been searching for a Project Director, but they have been unsuccessful for two reasons: (1) SCP has suffered severe funding cutbacks and what is available could not entice a full-time director; and (2) they are not completely persuaded that a Ph.D. candidate is the ideal type to be the Director. An alternative would be to find a community-type person with experience in a ghetto agency, or even a former client who understands the problems of black businessmen. It has been suggested that a faculty person direct the project on a half-time basis, with the Graduate School of Business paying his entire salary. To date, this has not come about, the main reason apparently being the lack of a faculty member interested in taking such a position. This will be discussed at length later in this section.

Since its inception, Tita has been functioning as both Chairman and Project Director of SCP. The main reasons for this dual function are that all other SCP officers have graduated from the one year MBA program, and that there has been insufficient funding for a paid position. The central role Tita has played within SCP and in relating SCP to outside organizations will be discussed fully in the section entitled Leadership.

The duties of the various officers and members of SCP have been outlined above, but analysis of reports and interviews with key personnel do not reveal a completely smooth-running organization. Organizational weaknesses will be considered in this analysis.

With the exception of the Office of Chairman, all the other offices have been filled by MBA students who graduated after one year. Each year, academic pressures and lack of sufficient remuneration took their toll in the amount of time any one student could devote to his office. It also requires time to become familiar with and integrated in any organization, particularly a new one. One of the most important offices is that of Central Coordinator, since he is responsible for assigning the proper consultants to meet each particular client's needs and for following clients' progress by collecting reports from consultants. His job requires knowledge of all the consultants and sufficient authority to see that consultants furnish adequate reports on clients' progress. During the first year of operation, the Central Coordinator was a white student whom Tita described as "quick to criticize". Most of the consultants felt this coordinator did not have the necessary insight into the problems of black businessmen or even into the problems of students themselves, including academic pressures and lack of adequate reporting skills.

During the second year, the Project Controller was a white student who came to Pitt with some experience in a white consulting firm. He tried to operate in SCP according to the set patterns he had learned with that firm. Student consultants felt that he had little understanding for the special problems with which black businessmen must contend. Neither of these two first controllers were able to attain adequate reports from consultants; yet such reports were deemed vital for recording project

activities, eliminating overlap or omission, and providing continuity. The third coordinator, a black student, seems to have fared somewhat better, but keeping adequate records is still a central problem for the project.

The Office of Publicity Director is also crucial, since information concerning SCP and available resources is important to businessmen and to project image in the community and in the business school. Very early in the project history, a faculty member who had never shown an interest in SCP was interviewed about his lack of involvement. The faculty member said that he had never received information about SCP and its activities and the project was very poorly publicized. Again, the Publicity Director is always a graduate student, who has been at the mercy of academic pressures and schedules. The Publicity Director has never really had the time to pursue the responsibilities of the office properly. As a result, newsletters have never been consistently published, and the quality has frequently left something to be desired.

Communications are an integral part of any discussion of Organization. Several observers both internal and external to SCP have noted that the single most pressing problem which has pervaded SCP since its very beginnings has been the poor system of reporting on the part of the consultants. Kilmer has described this problem and its implications in a section of his report entitled "Internal Structure". Kilmer combined his own ideas with those expressed in the report written by Koleda and Tita in their case study of SCP in 1971. The following paragraphs rely heavily on material from the two reports.

The internal structure of the organization appears, from several accounts, to be weakest of the institution variables. In a report to Robert C. Brictson, the Director of Research Programs at Pitt (Director of the University-Urban Interface Program), the business school's Michael Koleda states his feeling that, "the mission of the organization is threatened by an apparent lack of a solid internal structure of communication and control, and is in real need of hard feedback data on its effectiveness". (Koleda, 1971:1) David Freedman makes the same point more simply saying, "Interpersonal communication on SCP matters was an organization short-coming". (Freedman, 1971:261)

Koleda stressed the importance of his point by pointing out that, "Strong, dynamic leadership may be a motivating, driving force in a technical assistance organization, but it is the administrative functions of communication and control that provide cohesion and stability, permitting a group to operate within a minimum inefficiency and delays." (Koleda, 1971:3)

The implication here is that the SCP has relied on a strong, dynamic leadership and failed to develop the administrative functions of communication and control.

While the statement above is true, it must be noted that failure to develop an effective internal structure was not due to neglect of the necessity of doing so. Koleda notes that while these are obvious shortcomings of the organization, they are recognized as such and apparently

there is a strong commitment to improvement in those areas. (Koleda, 1971:16) We must try to see why this structure has not developed as it should. There may be several reasons.

An elaborate reporting system was established from the very beginning of the organization's operations. It never worked as planned, however. Three basic forms were prepared to facilitate the reporting process. A detailed application form was to be used by the client representative in evaluating a prospective client's business and problems. Two-page confidential report forms were to be used by the consultants for reporting their activities and progress with their clients on a bi-weekly basis. A third, one-page form was to be filled out by students interested in becoming consultants.

The planned system seemed to be a good one. The Central Coordinator, a student himself, would use the information about the client's needs as presented on the first form, and the information about the student's qualifications, as presented on the third form, in order to make an optimal matching of client and consultant. The bi-weekly report would then be a means of monitoring the progress of the relationship. It would also serve as a store of background information about a client if it should be necessary to change consultants.

This system failed to perform properly, however. It was sometimes not possible for a client representative to visit a perspective client before a consultant was assigned. At times, the proper report was not filed even when the client was visited. The Central Coordinator did not always have the proper information available for making client assignments. At times, it was not used when it was available. The consultants failed nearly all of the time to keep a complete record of their activities with clients.

Part of this failure may be attributed to a failure on the part of the leadership. There has always been a problem in developing student leadership which has left Tita with too many personal responsibilities. The entire (Program) for MBA student leaders has to be compressed into a period of only eleven months at best as was discussed previously. There may have been some tendency to elect officers who were apparently better technically qualified than other students, but perhaps less able to deal with the very unique interpersonal relationship necessary in this type of operation.

There were examples the first two years of top student officers' failure to unite the organization and develop the kind of tight internal structure necessary for effective operations.

"Other factors which contribute to the failure of the reporting process are the constraints on the consultants themselves. Their motivation for following through may not be as high as it is with the student leaders, or with Tita. They are more likely to view their relationship with a client as a one-on-one situation in which the SCP plays little part after getting the two principals (client and consultant) together.

There are a great many time pressures put on an MBA student by the rigorous academic program. He may feel it is more useful to spend the time he can devote to the SCP in consulting than in report writing."* (Kilmer, 1973)

Michael Koleda suggests one other possible cause. The problem of reporting "for some students may not be one of lack of discipline, rather one of lack of know-how. A talent for report writing, like the business knowledge and skills that the consultants themselves are asked to transfer, is not inherent in a person." (Koleda, 1971:13) He suggests that classes be offered at the beginning of each year dealing with the basic elements of substantive report writing. While it may be difficult to raise much interest in such a course, Koleda, at least, feels that the results may be surprising. (Kilmer, 1973:13-21)

Leadership

Esman, one of the original formulators of the Institution-Building constructs, has stated:

> The most important variable (in institution-building) is leadership. Guidance requires leadership to achieve behavioral changes within an organization and in an environment which may impose obstacles to the intended changes. (Esman, 1972:28)

It seems evident that SCP would not have come into existence without the efforts of William Tiga Tita. Tita came to Pitt with some knowledge concerning similar projects, a desire to improve the condition of the black man, and an intellectual orientation toward multidimensionality. He had not had time to establish his academic "worth" among faculty at the University as yet. The timing of the project, however, and the ability of Tita to argue his case led the Graduate School of Business to supply office space and a secretary to the new organization. The business school had never had any kind of internship or practicum included in its curriculum.

When Tita outlined the goals of the organization, he enlisted the aid of the students who signed the list of interested candidates to formulate the organizational structure. (Tita knew that his ideas would have more impact upon the administration if he could appear with the stated support of white students as well as black students, and this was accomplished.)

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*Recently, Tita decided that consultants would not get paid unless their reporting improved. This incentive has not been enough, however, since writing reports is a skill which many individuals simply do not have, and also it is difficult for a director or central coordinator to refuse a report after a student has put considerable time and energy into writing and rewriting.

Tita was the only student who had researched the possibilities of such a project and therefore supplied most of the guidance. After the guidelines were set, it was Tita who initiated many of the preliminary contacts in the University and the community in order to get SCP into action. Certain key individuals within the University and the business community were instrumental in introducing SCP to the community and in acquiring clients for the project. These persons played key roles in SCP's development, but the most sustained leadership and guidance was provided by Tita, who became Chairman and Project Director. He was the only student involved in SCP who did not leave the business school after one year. Thus, he was the only individual interested in the project who could provide continuity.

It was because of his experience, capability, and dedication that new members each year relied upon him so heavily. There have been instances where consultants would by-pass the Central Coordinator and communicate directly with the Chairman. In this way, formal communication channels were ignored, and Tita's job responsibilities increased. Several observers believe that this so-called "Tita factor" was the key to SCP's survival these past three years.

It is reasonably certain that an effort like SCP needs a leader who remains with the project over time. A one-year involvement is insufficient to gain the appropriate experience and provide continuity. No M.A. student, therefore, is able to assume the chairmanship. If soft money cannot be found to pay a full-time director, the next best thing would be a faculty or doctoral candidate who could devote full or half-time to the project and be salaried by the Graduate School of Business.

Up to this point, Tita has had the most sustained commitment to SCP, and the level of motivation displayed by this project leader may well be among the most crucial factors in making any innovative organization work.

The Board of Directors

The Board of Directors should be included in any discussion of leadership, and indeed the directors on the Board of SCP have contributed much time and effort into providing help and guidance to the project. Members who represent the University can be categorized as academic types who have provided insight into policy-making and its implications. Board members from the community include individuals from community business organizations, social agencies and/or government, and clients themselves. They have provided insight into everyday problems of ghetto businessmen. They have been called upon to secure clients and other resources at SCP's inception and they have continued to serve in this way throughout the career of the project.

It was hoped that SCP would retain its viability in the community as well as its internal continuity by forming a strong Board of Directors made up of SCP officers (students), some University personnel, members of community business organizations, and clients themselves. The original organizational structure of SCP specified the formation of a Board of Directors which ideally would:

> . . .provide leadership for the development of SCP philosophy and goals, oversee SCP activity--particularly the actions of the officers--ensure fulfillment of organizational goals, provide continuity, strengthen communications between SCP and the city's overall business community, and approve SCP budgets, supervise financial affairs, and conduct periodic audits as necessary. (Koleda, 1971:6)

The Board actually has consisted of individuals who represent various segments of the University (Business School, minority educational programs, Office of Urban and Community Services); social and governmental agencies (Community Action Pittsburgh, Small Business Administration); professional organizations (Jaycees, Business and Professional Men's Association); and the client community.

Tita feels that although Board members have carried out their duties to the best of their ability, they have had a minimal effect upon the internal operations of SCP. Most of the decisions concerning policies and guidelines have had to be made by those directly involved in the project. The Board meets periodically to give advice to SCP officers, and the various members help SCP in a public relations sense. Since the members are part of the community, they have worked to maintain a favorable attitude toward SCP among their constituencies. They also represent organizations which are in a position to help SCP's clients at one time or another.

According to the Project Chairman, Board members were never chosen for the power they might wield in the community or the University. Many new organizations might choose individuals for their boards who represent foundations so that money would be easier to obtain. But SCP has proceeded on the assumption that foundations are often part of a large corporation's public relations attempts to "pacify" minority problems rather than increase minority economic power. There was an attempt to recruit members tc the Board who were on the Board of Directors of the Business School. This was not successful, however.

The only organizations which have members on SCP's Board which have contributed to project financing are Community Action Pittsburgh and the Small Business Administration. CAP gave SCP its first large grant and then a smaller grant a year later. To date, SBA has referred 40 clients to SCP for consultation with remuneration to the consultants. Many Board members, however, have helped SCP by providing information on potential financial and outside consulting resources. So far, it has been impossible to find truly powerful individuals to be on the Board who would also have insight into and commitment to minority business problems. Very few black men are in powerful positions in large corporations and very few black organizations are powerful in and of themselves. As it stands now, the Board consists of individuals who have commitments to their own businesses and organizations, and Tita feels that each member is doing his best in providing what he <u>can</u>.

The Board consists of academic and corporate personnel who can provide help in setting and maintaining policy. They are aware of policy and planning implications. The Board also includes other individuals who are acutely aware of the black community and can provide needed insight into problems that arise daily for the small ghetto businessman. There is presently a balance on the Board of these types of persons.

The project needs a Board whose members have the ability to formulate and grasp the implications of policy and at the same time are committed to and aware of the small day-to-day problems of operating a business in a black community. As the project moves along, the Board may change somewhat organizationally and functionally. In the beginning, SCP needed members who would help the project "get off the ground" by providing publicity, clients, and other resources. As the project develops, a stronger need is felt for Board members who could integrate action and research.

Resources

Resources should include: "(a) money . . .; (b) physical plant; (c) equipment (reusable upon use); (d) supplies (diminishing upon use); (e) materials; (f) and other facilities". (Nehnevajsa, 1972:82) Nehnevajsa chooses to treat personnel as a separate variable, but in the case of SCP, personnel should be included as a prime resource since it is manpower which is the most essential resource in a consulting operation. It is more realistic to utilize Esman's definition of resources: "the financial, physical, human, technological and informational inputs of the institution". (Esman, 1972:23) The personnel will be dealt with later in this section.

External Resources

The first year of operation, consultants and officers were not paid at all, but the Graduate School of Business supplied an office and a secretary. The second year, Community Action Pittsburgh (CAP) supplied approximately $40,000 for salaries, supplies, and reimbursements. The third year, CAP suffered its own budgetary cutbacks and could only grant $21,080 to SCP. Another source of operating funds came from the Small Business Administration (SBA) in November, 1972, whereby student consultants were paid to consult clients which SBA did not have the manpower to assist after loaning them money. To date, $10,000 has been allocated from this source to student consultants who have provided 40 clients with technical assistance. Several designated purpose grants have also sustained SCP's activities.

Business and Job Development (BJD) paid for the printing and dissemination of the Directory of Minority Businesses on the Hill described earlier. BJD also donated a room for the bookkeeping course which was run by students for interested businessmen and women. Two such seminars were held with 25 attending each time. Two proposals written to the University-Urban Interface Program resulted in funding reports which aided the project in assessing its own accomplishments and problems.

Several community organizations have contributed to SCP's resource base by supplying advice and consultation, referring clients, helping SCP find funds, and publicizing SCP's special projects (Small Businessmen's Nights, bookkeeping seminars, marketing seminars). Student consultants have enlisted the aid of professional organizations and larger corporations on short-term volunteer bases. To name a few examples, CAP firms have voluntarily accepted auditing jobs for SCP clients, officers of the local Oakland Co-Op have helped clients with marketing problems, and an architect helped a client by doing presentation drawings for a loan application.

The Graduate School of Business

The Graduate School of Business, like most other departments of the University, has never allocated money for a service project; and the budget, already suffering, cannot possibly be altered to accommodate full funding for SCP. The traditional research and educational aspects of the graduate school would have to be slighted. Therefore, recent proposals have been geared to requests for more limited aspects of support for the project, such as diverting federal work-study stipends to students who work for SCP, providing assistantships which include working in SCP, and recruiting and/or appointing faculty for the directorship position. There are also continuing attempts to find ways to have SCP fit more closely into the traditional concerns of the business school.

When SCP was founded, it was envisioned that SCP's most important input, expertise, would be provided by faculty as well as by students. The faculty were to act primarily in an advisory capacity although occasionally in a consulting capacity. Most faculty input, however, has been only on an *ad hoc* basis. There are several reasons for the faculty's lack of involvement. First, faculty spend their time teaching, researching, and consulting in major corporations. There has been no financial remuneration for faculty for offering services in the ghetto. There is also not enough time for such activity, since the Graduate School of Business has never lightened a faculty member's teaching load for such efforts. It seems, too, that there is more prestige among one's colleagues in becoming an expert in more traditional fields than minority business problems or the problems of small businesses in general. Finally, since experiential learning has never been a part of the school curriculum, there are difficulties in arousing faculty interest in this area.

The most obvious thrust of the Graduate School of Business is the training of individuals in the areas of complex organizational operations, international affairs, and large industry. The Graduate School of Business Catalogue states, "The Pitt MBA program is designed to develop in its students those qualities which reflect the needs of modern business for broadly educated management personnel who possess a generalized point of view, adaptability to new situations, and a high degree of analytical skills." (Catalogue, 1972-1973:11) A graduate school of business is not intended to train students in those basic skills of bookkeeping, elementary accounting, and so on, which are the most obvious deficiencies of the small business clients. Most of the professors fail to see how their particular fortes have any bearing on such remedial concerns. Thus,

professors and students have perceived their own roles as incompatible, and students have probably widened this gap by hesitating to consult faculty on questions concerning basic bookkeeping and accounting skills.

Several cases have been documented where faculty have contributed advice when approached by students concerning client problems. One professor helped a store owner in the Hill District devise an employee interview form by which to evaluate prospective employees. In another example, a professor chaired a marketing seminar for interested entrepreneurs. There was also the case where a professor helped a student find material for teaching a basic bookkeeping course geared to minority businessmen. While such examples of faculty assistance are numerous, there has been a definite absence of assistance in formulating and carrying out projects which entail long-term commitment. The most obvious reason for this is the lack of time any one professor could devote, given the responsibilities and goals of the business school.

In an interview, Tita described the system of rewards in the GSB and in the realm of business academics as non-conductive to research in areas of minority business problems. Although there are rewards for research, there is a lack of prestige and demand for research projects in the area of minority business problems. Minority business problems stem not only from lack of basic skills in bookkeeping and accounting, but from the multi-dimensional problems of the ghetto community itself. Any comprehensive research effort done to identify or solve various ghetto economic and social problems would entail surveys and marketing analyses and other highly detailed research, requiring long-term commitment. Tita reported that when he approached a young faculty member and asked him to become more involved in SCP research, the faculty member replied, "If I knew in three years that what I did was an investment and not an expense, then I would do it."*

A major thrust of SCP efforts is not only helping businessmen on a short-term basis, but creating an interest in minority business problems among faculty and students. Besides attempting to encourage long-term research projects, SCP adherents have been seeking to create enough interest among faculty to feel strongly enough to include the study of minorities and small businesses as part of the traditional business education. So far, success has been limited.

Currently, pressure is being brought to bear to have an SCP representative take part in the curriculum revision sessions which have been going on at the business school. The first time that revising the curriculum to include SCP fieldwork and minority business courses was brought up in a faculty meeting, it was opposed by a great majority of the faculty. At that time, SCP was too young to have proved its value to the educational experience of the MBA student. The project, however, has substantial community and student support, and ways may yet be found to integrate the field activities into the school curriculum. This would encourage

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*Interview with W. T. Tita, April 24, 1973.

continuing, regular student community involvement and simultaneously underscore a primary concern for academic duties.

Linkages

There are four major analytical types of "linkages", or ways by which an organization is linked to its environment. They have been defined by all the "institution-building model" formulators: enabling, functional, normative, and diffuse. According to Katz:

> Enabling linkages are those that relate the organizational system to authoritative organizations, groups, and individuals. Such linkages authorize the establishment of the subject system and enable it to continue to operate . . .
>
> Functional linkages encompass the flows of resources and products necessary for carrying on the systems activities . . .
>
> There also are normative linkages that involve relationships of acceptability and influence associated with societal values and norms . . .
>
> Finally, there are diffuse linkages . . . (which usually are) amorphous attitudes of generalized support or opposition to an organizational system and its activities . . . (Katz, 1972:157-158)

Enabling Linkages

Broadly defined, enabling linkages are those organizations to which SCP is answerable and therefore ultimately dependent. An important enabling linkage has been the Graduate School of Business, since it provided the office space and the secretary for the project. It has also "allowed" SCP to exist as an organization which could ultimately be regarded by the outside as a GSB activity. The Graduate School of Business has also "picked up" tabs on various luncheons and meetings throughout SCP's career.

Tita has sought to include SCP within the business school budget and also to have students earn course credit for their field activity with SCP, since he considered this the optimal arrangement. Neither situation has occurred, however, and Tita has had to redirect his efforts toward procurement of soft monies for SCP and toward formulation of ways to translate the field experience into an intellectual exercise.

When Community Action Pittsburgh granted SCP $40,000, it became an enabling linkage. Monthly status reports were required from the Chairman or from the Central Coordinator. It was learned after the first year of SCP's existence that consultants could not operate without some financial remuneration, thus the enabling linkage dimension became emphasized. Both CAP and the GSB serve as other types of linkages as well, and will be dealt with accordingly.

Functional Linkages

According to Nehnevajsa, functional linkages are ". . .the raw materials coming into a particular setting . . ."*

The Graduate School of Business should be considered a functional linkage since a primary resource, SCP's staff (officers and consultants), is made up entirely of students who are members of GSB first. Esman has written, "a functional linkage 'includes' . . . those institutions which are real or potential competitors . . ." (Esman, 1972:33) The GSB can be defined as a competitor since it competes with SCP for the students' time and commitment. As was described in the Goals section of this report, the ideology which guides the decisions of SCP are potentially compatible with those which guide policies of the business school, but the implementation of those goals (education, research) is dissimilar.

SCP has not had the tools to compete against GSB for faculty involvement. SCP does not have the money to tempt faculty activity nor does it have the institutional tools (curriculum, authority, faculty recruiting power, etc.) to "force" faculty to become involved. The faculty have provided inputs into SCP, although not at the level which project leadership would find desirable.

There is a good possibility that the autonomy which SCP enjoys from the business school has been advantageous as well as difficult. Perhaps integrating SCP fieldwork into the curriculum might put new pressures on the students which would weaken the service component. Perhaps the businessmen and community personnel might suffer from being "researched to death", and SCP would lose some of its hard-earned credibility. Still, it should be emphasized that SCP as an organization is plagued with problems which might be solved by institutionalization, i.e., making SCP an integral part of the GSB curriculum and budget, as well as an area of continuous faculty and administrative concern.

There is no obvious way which the University as a whole has played a significant functional role in SCP, but various individuals and programs within the University, apart from those in the GSB, have contributed to SCP's development. Key personnel directed Tita and his fledgling organization to particular individuals in the black community and helped provide SCP with its first clients.

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*Transcript of Outreach Project Seminar, University-Urban Interface Program, November 5, 1972, page 10.

As mentioned earlier, the University-Urban Interface Program funded a case study which served to provide written guidelines for each new group of business students, to publicize SCP to other universities and other external and internal groups, and to provide insight into SCP's strengths and limitations.

Various community and governmental organizations and programs have also played the role of "functional linkages" since they have been sources of clients, manpower and advice, all vital to SCP.

One of the first functional linkages formed was with the Business and Professional Men's Association. Tita was directed to this organization by a University official, and SCP subsequently received its first clients through referrals from this association.

Other organizations such as the Homewood Board of Trade, the Business League in Manchester, Small Business Administration, Community Action Pittsburgh, and Business and Job Development Corporation all contributed to SCP's functioning in one way or another, either by referring clients and organizations to SCP or by actually taking part in project activities.

Business and Job Development (BJD) helped SCP organize the important First Annual Small Businessmen's Night, July, 1970. After the affair, BJD donated space for the bookkeeping seminar which SCP taught for three terms. Although the seminars were well-attended, they have had to be terminated since BJD was using Model Cities money to sponsor them, and Model Cities has experienced large cutbacks. The student consultants do not have the time or facilities to carry on the seminar without BJD's cooperation, and no new plans have been made to continue them. BJD also coordinated the funding from the Minority Business Opportunities Commission for the printing of the Directory of Hill District Businesses described in Part I of this report.

At the First Annual Small Businessmen's Night, many other organizations and agencies were represented and performed an important function for SCP. They interacted freely among themselves, with black small businessmen and with University personnel, indicating a willingness to cooperate and providing needed sources of information for SCP and its constituents. SCP has always maintained that its function is to help the small businessman wherever possible, including providing information on sources of loans and services. SCP has also maintained that its goal is to increase the cooperation among ghetto residents and organizations. Thus any organization or individual who took part in the First or the Second Annual Small Businessmen's Night might be considered a functional linkage, at least at one time or another.

SCP has received assistance in its efforts to upgrade the ghetto economy, but it has also given assistance to the various organizations and corporations involved in technical assistance programs. The formal agreement in November, 1972, between SCP and the Small Business Administration, which provided funds for student consultants to advise SBA clients, was one example of this reciprocity. It would be difficult to determine the exact number of clients who have been referred to SCP by various organizations because the organizations did not have the capacity to handle demands

from minority businessmen. Such organizations include Volunteers in International Technical Assistance (VITA) and the Pittsburgh Coordinating Council (PCC), an offshoot of the powerful Allegheny Conference on Community Development.

Freedman, in his study of technical assistance programs in the Pittsburgh area, concludes, "While community outreach projects appear desirable in terms of organizational objectives and businessmen's needs, few groups are equipped to go into all neighborhoods where there is significant black enterprise." (Freedman, 1971:60) Freedman finds that the inadequacy stems from transportation problems, unfamiliarity with specific neighborhood social and economic conditions, communication and empathy difficulties with black clients, the inability to generate independence on the part of the businessman after the consultant has gone, and the lack of continuity between visits and between consultants if a new consultant is called in. These difficulties might begin to be overcome if the various volunteering organizations would provide for consultants to spend more time in the field and sponsor more varied projects to acquaint consultants with the complex ghetto situation.

Clients themselves must be considered the major functional linkage for SCP since they are at the heart of all SCP activity. Without them, SCP would have no raison d'etre. They also provide SCP members with the opportunity for education--an important function of SCP.

Normative Linkages

Nehnevajsa describes normative linkages as:

> . . .ideological and ethical constraints. But they are also part of the institutional problem. The institutional doctrine and other normative provisions explicitly or implicitly deal with major social values. But these are values which are usually institutionalized in some other domain of social life, such as religion or politics. Therefore, the central issues have to do with compatibility of institutional values with custom, mores, and law. (Nehnevajsa, 1972:83)

The normative linkages are between SCP and (1) the black community (of which clients and various organizations are a part); (2) the University (including the GSB); and (3) various segments of the white dominated larger society.

The obvious normative linkage between SCP and the black community occurs when values and objectives are delineated. There is an obvious concern for the small black businessman's success. As Kilmer puts it, "the entire community benefits from the presence of a rational, well-run business community". (Kilmer, 1973:32) There is obvious concurrence between the SCP goal of seeking to provide technical assistance and

those of the black community (including clients) in creating an efficient and profitable business sector.*

Yet, the normative concurrence between the clients and SCP suffers most when SCP seeks to attain the goal of increasing black economic power. The members of SCP have come to believe that cooperation among various segments of the black community is essential for upgrading ghetto economy. One example of much-needed cooperation would be in the formation of credit unions, since most clients suffer from lack of capital. Ironically, however, by helping black businessmen to improve their business skills or methods, consultants have actually reinforced the values of individualism when the profits of such businessmen increase. This automatically decreases the desire to work together in ventures with other businessmen such as credit unions or cooperative buying programs.

The relationship which exists between SCP and the University is more normative than it is functional or enabling. The goals of an institution such as the University of Pittsburgh are often not explicitly stated, but one can refer to specific policy statements by top administrators for definitive purposes. One can assume that an institution of higher learning exists primarily for the purpose of education, complemented by research. When Wesley W. Posvar became Chancellor in 1968, and urban disorders became prevalent, certain policy statements were made which emphasized the goals which SCP put forth at its inception.

In the Winter of 1970, the Chancellor expressed his moral support by using SCP as an illustration of: "The new relationships which the University is forging with hitherto neglected segments of the community and the new patterns by which the University provides public service while pursuing its primary goals of teaching and research." (Posvar, 1971:11)

The normative linkage between SCP and the University is also emphasized by the presence of various University personnel on SCP's Board of Directors. The Board as a whole guides SCP's policies and actions, and the members of the Board bring the best interests of the University with them, but Dean Zoffer emphasized the normative concurrence between SCP and the business school when he made the following statement in the SCP Newsletter of October 11, 1971:

> All of us at the School reiterate our intention to continue to broaden the opportunities for service to the community of which we are a part . . . You may rest assured that whether you are a consultant for the Project, a client of the program, or a potential donor to the cause, the

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*Some concern has arisen for the possible hostility which might arise by helping one businessman to increase his profit-making level at the expense of others. This has not been a problem for SCP since profit-making levels have never been raised so high as to cause competition as a result of SCP services. This is not to say that SCP is not being successful with clients. Rather, the social and economic conditions under which the black businessmen must survive simply are not presently conducive to high profit levels.

> full administrative and faculty support of the GSB is behind the efforts of the Student Consultant Project. (SCP Newsletter, 1971:3)

The functional and enabling relationships between SCP and governmental agencies have been delineated, but the following description of the normative relationship points out possible problem areas of which future officers of SCP should be made aware.

> The normative dimension of this interface is a simple one. The SCP has a set of norms and values very similar to those of most of the governmental programs. Thus, in Esman's terms, they are relevant to each other and in fact are mutually supportive in most cases. There is more room for conflict, however, when we begin to speak of the unspoken norms and values of the governmental programs, as perceived by the SCP.
>
> Here we may say, and it may be true, that the Nixon Administration has ulterior motives we do not approve of in the development of particular programs, such as OMBE and that it is not really as interested in helping minority businessmen as it is in garnering big, favorable headlines, which give the illusion of action. Some of this sort of suspicion is undoubtedly well founded, but some of it may also be due to our own paranoia. The SCP leadership has taken the approach that regardless of what the motives of particular governmental programs may be, the SCP will cooperate and work together with those programs when it will be beneficial to meeting the objectives of the SCP. (Kilmer, 1973:38-39)

Diffuse Linkages

Diffuse linkages have been defined as any support or opposition which has not been determined as enabling, functional, or normative. Diffuse support or opposition can be discerned through the treatment of SCP and its activities in the media. All major University periodicals, the two major Pittsburgh newspapers, and various other media both national and local have indicated their support and praise. The various officers of SCP have been asked on occasion to contribute articles to

several of these periodicals. Many individuals and groups have called SCP for assistance with business problems and advice, indicating a confidence in SCP's effectiveness. Most of these were individuals who knew about or had been helped by SCP; on the whole, the project appears to have a favorable image in the broader community.

Summary and Descriptive Analysis

The Student Consultant Project (SCP) was chosen for study by the University-Urban Interface Program as an example of one University-based operation which was involved in channeling University resources into the minority community. The thrust of the Student Consultant Project was to offer services primarily to small businessmen in the two ghetto areas of Pittsburgh. The major goal was to help upgrade the ghetto economy by providing technical assistance and transmitting needed information to minority businessmen. It was also hoped that students who became involved in the project would become familiarized with the particular problems of black businessmen and would continue to use this knowledge when they left school and became part of the business community. Those who organized the project also felt that more research should be done in the ghetto areas to provide extensive information about the economic circumstances.

Unlike the other three projects chosen for Outreach research, SCP is primarily a student effort and has been since its inception. The Graduate School of Business, which became the project's home, had shown some earlier interest in similar endeavors but no stable program had evolved. William Tiga Tita, a doctoral candidate in the school, initiated the Student Consultant Project in October, 1969. It was in this year that the business school admitted the first sizeable group of black students. When Tita posted a notice on the school bulletin board inviting graduate students and faculty to participate in organizing and implementing such a project, 40 students, both black and white, attended the first meeting. Thirty-two of the students eventually applied to be consultants for the project. Although the faculty has shown some interest and normative support for project goals, attempts to involve faculty in the project have not been very successful. Only a few have ever become associated with the project in more than a short-term advisory capacity. Faculty members have expressed concern that the students involved may be jeopardizing their academic work and have, up to this time, also seen no way of using the students' activities as part of the regular school curriculum.

In 1969, with the help of the recruited students and faculty advice, Tita (who soon was named Chairman and Project Director) wrote a charter outlining project structure and goals.* Initial contacts were then begun with a number of established agencies in the ghetto areas. The agencies were receptive, and they provided help by making SCP known to the community

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*Described in: Michael S. Koleda and William T. Tita, The Student Consultant Project (SCP): A Case Study of Student Involvement in Social Action, September, 1971.

and recruiting clients to receive consultant services. The project also received assists in several ways from University offices, particularly the newly-established University Office of Urban and Community Services. From the outset, the project was well-received in the community; and during its first year, even before the formal organizational structure was finalized, 33 students went into the community to provide technical assistance to minority businessmen.

The first year also entailed appointing students to fulfill the special organizational tasks for the project which had been specified in the charter. In May, 1970, a Board of Directors met formally for the first time. The members of the Board were recruited from both the University and the community. They served as advisors on both internal and external matters, and also helped to widen community support and bring in new clients. The Board has continued to fulfill these functions in subsequent years. SCP has also continued to recruit successfully from the student population. Yearly recruitment is necessary since most graduate students on the project are in the M.A. program in the business school, and this program only lasts for one year. The yearly turnover causes understandable problems in continuity which are mitigated mainly by the presence of Tita who is in the much longer doctoral program.

The School of Business, and especially the Dean, has demonstrated support by providing the project with an office and a part-time secretary. However, SCP has never become an established part of the school budget, in part because the school has its own budgetary constraints. For this reason, SCP has had to seek outside funding on its activities, including monies to remunerate student consultants for transportation and other expenses. Outside funding has been obtained principally from Community Action Pittsburgh and the Small Business Administration. Although these funds have been sufficient to keep the project going, they have never reached the level of providing for a permanent, paid full-time director for the project. The creation of such a post seems to project members highly desirable in view of both the turnover in the graduate student population and the academic demands on student time which limit the number of hours they can spend on activity considered "extracurricular" by the school.

During its operations, the Student Consultant Project has been involved primarily with client-centered activities. Thousands of hours have been spent in individual consulting services to black businessmen. Activities have also included representing businessmen in securing loans, holding bookkeeping and marketing seminars, helping with a research survey of local businessmen, aiding other colleges to set up their own student consultant projects, and trying to form credit unions.

Because of the recognition that the ghetto economy is dependent on other parts of the larger economy, SCP has held a series of annual Small Businessmen's Nights to bring various segments of the community together and put ghetto clients into contact with others who might be helpful to them. The Small Businessmen's Nights were attended by representatives of local banks, the Pittsburgh Police, the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, the University of Pittsburgh, a number of small businesses, and various governmental and social agencies. The meetings seem to have

accomplished their purpose since they provided an arena for an exchange of views and also some useful outcomes for participants.

The project has managed its many efforts with what must be considered rather marginal organizational and monetary resources. In 1973, after more than four years, the Student Consultant Project, in spite of praise from clients, the mass media, and other sources, still cannot be said to have a permanent base. The accomplishments and difficulties experienced throughout the project's history will be integrated in a descriptive analysis derived from University-Urban Interface Program research.

Descriptive Analysis of the Student Consultant Project

The research on the Student Consultant Project was based on regular interviews with the Chairman/Director and with other students involved in the project. Interviews were also conducted with faculty and administrators in the business school (particularly Professors Robert Perloff and Michael Koleda who have been the most involved faculty members). Interview data has been supplemented by participant observation at project meetings, formal documents emanating from the project and from the business school, access to project records, media accounts of project activities, and other sources. The project has been monitored since 1970, the second year of its operations. The analysis below relies on the major institution-building variables to bring together aspects of the process of implementing the project.

The Student Consultant Project has been most successful in establishing normative linkages with the community which provided clients and warm support; in recruiting student personnel to fulfill consulting and administrative roles; and in having dedicated sustained leadership from its Chairman/Director. Tita and his co-workers chose to work through established agencies and offices in the community and the University. The project never attempted to recruit its own clients. In this manner, project leaders avoided any conflict, for they carefully explained project goals to others concerned with the ghetto areas, gained acceptance for providing consulting services, and relied on existing agencies to refer clients to them. Since from very early in the project's history, there were always more than a sufficient number of clients desiring available services, community support for the project seems evident. The mass media, too, have provided a most favorable press. What problems have arisen with individual clients have had to do more with organizational difficulties which will be recounted later.

Since student involvement has been vital to the implementation and continuation of the project and since students attend the M.A. program for one year only, the ability to provide continuity in project activities has been impressive. Every year, at least 25 per cent of the graduate students in the business school have become involved in the project. But students are under a very heavy load. They carry a full-time academic program and often must work part-time on the side. In the first year of the project, students even paid their own expenses incurred in SCP activity, although in subsequent years some remuneration was made available. The demands on the student consultants caused internal organizational problems which have

not yet been resolved. Some of the students have been asked not only to fulfill consultant roles but to be responsible for defining and coordinating activities. Given the demands on student time and the high turnover in the student population, it has been difficult to fill these roles adequately. This deficiency has led to gaps in the recording and reporting area. In turn, there has been some duplication of services to clients and an occasional time lapse in the provision of services which was not simply due to the demands on personnel. A more overriding problem has been that it is very difficult to provide an accurate record of services rendered which would be good for project image and continuity under these conditions.

The organizational problems are directly related to a deficiency in resources which has made it impossible to retain paid administrative personnel. Student consultants provided the manpower to donate consulting services in the community but very little else. The Chairman/Director has filled some of the administrative gaps, and has also spent much of his time looking for additional resources. The University was able to provide little in the way of direct funds, but did help in pointing the way to possible outside sources. Community agencies were willing to offer some monies, but in spite of the general enthusiasm for the project, suffered their own budgetary constraints which meant that these monies were insufficient for project needs. The Board of Directors was not chosen for fund-raising abilities. Given all the other responsibilities of SCP, there was little time or talent to undertake the elaborate proposal efforts needed to acquire large grants. From this point of view, the enabling linkages for the project were not effectively mobilized.

While faculty personnel had some inputs in terms of information and advice in this area, they too had their own time allocations and interests which prevented more intensive involvement. Originally, it was hoped that faculty would make contributions in terms of designing and carrying out research in the black economy area. But although the goals and program of SCP carried an ideological appeal, the faculty believed that there were not sufficient rewards for research in this area. Nor does the business school offer motivation for becoming involved in offering services to minorities. Faculty members are not freed from other duties or offered remuneration for any inputs they might make into such activities. Also, the school had no historical involvement with "experiential learning" or community placement programs for students. No acceptable way was found for faculty to award course credit for student consultant activities, and, as mentioned before, some faculty were even against such activities because they might interfere with academic responsibilities.

Although the business school was able to provide some facilities, even here project leaders often had to appeal to outside sources for space and equipment for their seminars and other meetings. In a sense, this was a functional exchange, for the agencies appeared to desire the services offered and were willing to supply the requisite facilities. However, the necessity to move to space outside of the University and to coordinate activities in a different area, with different people, produced further organizational strains on project personnel.

The Student Consultant Project, then, was organized and implemented at a time when the University was favoring the goals of community service

which were articulated in the SCP Charter. University support was helpful in a number of ways, but totally inadequate to underwrite project programs. Excellent relations were established between project personnel and the population targeted for services. Working through established agencies protected the project from accusations of "moving in on someone else's territory". This approach also quickly provided the project with a more-than-adequate client market for services. Using graduate students to provide technical aid to minority businessmen, however, is not simply a matter of enlisting students and finding clients to whom they can provide services. Rather a complex system of record keeping, reporting, and matching is involved. Given the circumstances of the students, this is not readily available without trained paid personnel. Although project leadership was remarkably good, too many duties fell to a few individuals. This was particularly true for Tita, the Chairman/Director. Adequate project funding, organizational strength, and continuity remain problems for SCP. It has not been absorbed into the business school on any firm basis--either in terms of funding or curriculum acceptance. The future appears to hold a continued round of searching for funding and pressing for more recognition in the business school. At this point, it is very difficult to imagine that the project will continue to survive at anything like its present level should Tita, on completing his doctorate, leave Pitt.

Yet, as has been documented before, the accomplishments of those working on the project are considerable and well-received. That they had not brought forth monetary and other resources at the level required and on a permanent basis seems in large part due to the increasing budgetary constraints felt both in the University and on social agencies in the community. At the same time, had the project been able to avail itself of just one trained person to handle the fiscal problem, many of the other insufficiencies in project organization and personnel might well have been solved simply because it was possible to find more money. The dedication of Tita and the other involved graduate students and the help of agencies in the community and some administrators and faculty in the University has produced an effort which quite evidently meets a real community need. However, governmental support for both University and social agency programs for minorities seems to be significantly declining. Unless new sources of funding can be found, projects like SCP, regardless of worth, may have to be abandoned.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Projects:

1. Community Clother Store Project-East Liberty Opportunity Center
2. Small Businessmen's Nights
3. Participation Management Course for Minority Entrepreneurs
4. Fund Raising for Dwelling House Savings and Loan Association
5. Feasibility for Black Bank
6. Course on Ghetto Economics and Its Development Assistance Needs
7. Community Action of Pittsburgh
8. Credit Union
9. Bookkeeping Seminar
10. National Conference for Student Consultants
11. Series of Courses on Ghetto Economics and Its Development Assistance Needs
12. Pilot Business in the Black Community sponsored by SCP
13. Turtle Creek Model Cities
14. Black Business Survey
15. Oakland Co-Op
16. Low-Income Project Tax Service
17. Neighborhood Youth Corps
18. Community Clothing Project
19. University Buy Black Campaign
20. Food Demand Analysis--Hill District
21. Black Business Directory
22. SCP Retreat

APPENDIX B

The Use of the Institution-Building Model for University-Urban Interface Research

An overall research framework was deemed necessary for the UUIP research in order to compare findings across program areas and to pull the many pieces of separate research projects into an integrated whole.

The UUIP research staff's decision to use the institution-building framework was based on three major assets of the model. (1) The assumptions and theorems underlying the model are compatible with the philosophy of the University-Urban Interface Program. (2) The variables focused upon in the model are of a universal nature and can be applied to the varied projects which UUIP was assessing. And (3), several of the original developers of the institution-building model are associated with the University of Pittsburgh and were available for consultation.

The Assumptions of the Institution-Building Model

An institution, such as the University of Pittsburgh, is established to fulfill needs of a society. When an institution no longer fulfills the needs adequately or is challenged to fulfill additional needs not heretofore undertaken, new ways or innovations are developed to meet those needs. How the University can respond to the demands for more involvement in the plight of the city was the subject of UUIP research. Although there were many demands for leadership roles for University involvement, the majority seemed to feel the University should work with the community not for the community. This is the explicit philosophy behind the I-B model.

> This concept of development assistance represents a clear-cut break with the concept of charity which involves a quite different approach to help-giving. Charity was a strong element in the precursors of modern development administration - the missionaries. Many of them went abroad primarily to do good deeds, while meeting their need to save the souls of persons whom they regarded as less fortunate... ...in return for acceptance of their creed, missionaries were willing to give gifts in resources, skills, ...Modern aid ...is given to a social system.....by development of new organizations which can perform innovative functions affect-many people. (Eaton, 1972:139)

In UUIP research efforts, the University is viewed as a resource rather than a charitable organization.

Innovative efforts can be developed within the existing institution or planned outside of the institution. These innovative activities may become passing fads or may be "institutionized", either in the form of some new organization or as a routine way of operating within the parent institution. The institution-building (I-B) model focuses on the elements of organizational process that must be considered when introducing a planned change into a system.

> While I-B is not a universal model of social change, it does apply to innumerable situations in contemporary societies in which (1) change agents, usually enjoying some measure of offical sponsorship...impress their goals .....on society; (2) ....the proposed innovation must be induced ...not coerced; (3) formal organizations are employed as the media or vehicles through which change agents develop the technical capacities and the normative commitment needed to guide, sustain, and protect the intended innovations. (Esman in Eaton, 1972:25)

The model has been largely applied to change in underdeveloped countries. However, the generic nature of the major variables of the model make it a useful model for the guidance or study of more established institutions. This use of the model has, to the present, been largely untapped. The model also has been considered more for guidance of social planners and practitioners of change rather than those standing apart to monitor an attempted change. The UUIP research staff decided, however, that the utility of the model in , at the least, aiding the systematizing of copious data being amassed in its project could outweigh the lack of experience in using the model to analyze induced change in an established American institution and for purely research purposes.

> A principle theorem of institution building is that new service programs are most likely to become adopted .... when they are a part of an organized or patterned way of doing things ....(Eaton, 1972:139)

This institutionalization aspect of planned innovations was of particular interest to the UUIP research focus, and led to application of the I-B model as a framework for the project. Some of the research questions were (1) what kind of innovative programs introduced within the University became a part of accepted University patterns of activity; (2) what appears to make the difference in the success or failure of a project; (3) and what is the relationship between a university-based project and the community with which it interacts?

Nehnevajsa gives the following tests of institutionality: (Eaton, 1972:14)

> (1) An organization's ability to survive.
>
> (2) Extent to which an innovative organization comes to be viewed by its environment to have intrinsic value, to be measured operationally be such indices as its degree of autonomy and its influence on other institutions.
>
> (3) The extent to which an innovative pattern in the new organization becomes normative for other social units in the larger social system.

None of the innovative programs which were studied by UUIP had specifically set out to use the I-B model as a guide for organization building. The use of the I-B model for UUIP research, then, becomes one of applying the concepts for an analysis of the programs, apart from any role in the implementation of those programs.

The Variables of the Model

The model focuses on seven basic issues in the development of an institution: the goals and doctrines; the programs; leadership; personnel; resources; organization or internal structure; and linkages with the external environment.* Each of these issues is viewed from three perspectives or mappings. The "blueprint" mapping focuses on the plans as stated in organization charts, budgets, program specifications, or stated goals. The second mapping, operations, calls for data concerning what is actually happening as the attempt is made to carry out the blueprints. The third focus is "image" mapping, which looks at the perceptions that relevant constituencies have about the seven issues. The emphasis on the three mappings make the I-B model especially useful for UUIP research because the purpose was to find out not only what the University is doing in terms of university-community relations, but how people perceive that university action.

*There are several variations of the institution-building model and most of the recent discussions subsume "personnel" under resources or internal structure. However, UUIP research found it more useful to consider personnel as a separate issue.

Institution-Building Variables

	Blueprint or Normative Mapping	Actual Operating Mapping	Image Mapping
Goals and Doctrine			
Programs			
Leadership			
Personnel			
Resources			
Organization or Internal Structure			
Linkages			

The first six variables call for data concerning the properties of the program which is the target of the investigation. Each of these six variables call for three types of mapping. The UUIP staff formulated work sheets which facilitated keeping track of data relevant to each cell of the variable matrix and the time period of a particular state of any of these variables. (see next page)

The first row deals with data about the goals and doctrine of the innovative programs. This data for the blueprint mapping was usually available through the goal specifications stated in a funding proposal or in a brochure or other official hand-out paper which gave the purpose of the organization. These same documents also usually yielded statements which gave clues as to the ideology supporting the program. The cell calling for "actual goal" was used for information about aspects of the goal being implemented as indicated by resource allocation, statements by program implementors, or in progress reports. The images of the goal were assessed by interviews of persons both within and outside of the program.

The leadership of a program has been shown to be crucial in many studies of development. The blueprint mapping used by UUIP was often taken from job descriptions or by interviews of those with the authority to hire a new director. The research staff's assessment of the personality characteristics of a leader was included as part of the operations mapping; this information was gathered through direct observation or through interpretation of events. Other people's view of the particular leader was considered image mapping.

Although the I-B model often includes "personnel" as part of the "resources", for the university setting the analysis of personnel was more useful as a separate category. For example, several of the projects studied trained paraprofessionals and graduate students. The relations between these two types of personnel was often central to program problems needing solution. Also, the divisions in perceptions of university roles between administrators, faculty, students, alumni, trustees, and other publics was more than a resource related situation.

The program itself was described in proposals of offical memoranda, but often upon participant observation was different than the blueprint. Most of the image mapping for these program variables consisted of state-

INSTRUCTIONAL WORKSHEET

Area of Description: _____ Name: _____

Time of Description: _____ Date Written: _____

		Blueprint or Normative Mapping	Actual Operating Mapping	Image Mapping
1	Specified Goals			
	Ideological Doctrine			
2	Programs			
3	Leadership			
4	Personnel			
5	Resources			
6	Organization or Internal Structure			

ments from "outsiders" as to what they thought the program was doing.

The resource categories were heavily laden with funding data, as this became the crucial problem in most of the UUIP observed programs. However, the apparent priority given a program by the University was also assessed through the kind and amount of space and materials allotted to a program.

The internal structure of a project proved to be particularly complex to follow because formal organization charts were not only out of date, but rarely reflected actual practice or informal networks. Because all of the UUIP projects were interacting with many University departments and community groups, the organization was complex, often experimental and ever-changing. Much of the decision-making and implementation was done through informal processes which were very difficult to trace.

The linkages are a major thrust of the I-B model and of UUIP research.

> Change agents must both (a) build technically viable and socially effective organizations which can be vehicles for innovation, and (b) manage relationships (linkages) with other groups on whom they depend for complementaries and support and whose behavior they are attempting to influence. Building viable organizations and managing their linkages are closely interrelated aspects of a single institution-building process. (Esman in Eaton, 1972:25)

In order to begin to understand the effect of these community relations on the institutionalization of any program, the nature and history of the linkages between program and the larger University and those outside of the University became of paramount concern.

The I-B model distinguishes between four types of linkages. Each of the types describes a kind of relationship between the target program and external organizations or groups.

Enabling linkages refer to those bodies which have control over the program in the form of allocation of resources and decision-making authority which directly relate to the facilitation of the program. In UUIP research this type of linkage includes funding agencies, the Chancellor's office. and often, in a less direct way, state and federal policy makers.

The functional linkages include those which constrain or support project activity, such as departmental faculty, neighborhood organizations, and competing programs. Katz describes this type of linkage as "encompassing the flows of resources and products necessary for carrying on the systems activities ...". (Eaton, 1972:157)

The normative linkages deal with values, such as what do certain constituencies expect of the University and the specific programs; what roles are compatible with accepted customs; what constraints are placed upon the institution by laws? Some of this type of data was gathered through surveys of University groups, alumni, and the general public. Other material was gathered through image mapping data which implied accepted norms and values.

The diffuse linkages include the many other sources of support or opposition which may not be directly linked to the program but nevertheless have an impact. This category would include the local news media and public opinion information. Diffuse linkages often served as the miscellaneous category when an item did not seem to really fit in one of the other definitions.

The research task requires identification of specific patterns of interdependence. With the identification of linkages, consideration must then be given to the actual and possible impacts which change in the linkage relationships might make upon the institution building process. A final task is to determine the impact which intra-organizational adaptations might have upon the nature of the linkages. (Nehnevajsa, n.d.)

Discussion with I-B Developers

Joseph Eaton and Jiri Nehnevajsa, two of the original developers of the I-B model, conducted a seminar with the UUIP staff. An all day session was also held with the directors and liaison personnel of the Outreach projects to discuss particular issues involved in the use of the model.

All sessions were taped. A re-ordered transcript of one of these sessions with the I-B consultants is presented here to illustrate the nature of the discussions and some of the methodological problems that the staff had to resolve.

DISCUSSION ABOUT INSTITUTION-BUILDING

taken from UUIP Consultant Seminar

of October 22, 1971

The following pieces of discussion are paraphrases and reordering of material taken from a taped seminar with Jiri Nehnevajsa.

Goals:

Q: You may have a nice neat set of goals originally, but when you look again many things have changed. You have to find out what went on between two mappings.

A: (PS) That varies, too. Some projects start with very inexplicit plans.

JN: That's a very important opportunity for analysis--to see what happens under varying degrees of specificity, of definitions of roles. (Refers to paper by Fred Bruhns which examines changing goals under varying conditions of leadership and where some categories are developed for this purpose. Study was part of institution-building program. Focused on evolution of goals.)

Q: How do we classify the Master Plan for campus expansion? Is it at the blueprint or operations level?

A: (JN) The plan is the goal at the normative level. The evolution of the plan ceases to be interesting except to the extent to which at the level of the operations it may enter in when people complain about not having been in on the making of the Master Plan--the politics of its history. The cutting points are when you decide to enter the process, this is necessarily somewhat arbitrary.

Q: Moore's project represents two sets of goals, i.e., basic research objectives and alleviating social problems, which may be difficult to fulfill in the same program. How to treat this?

A: (JN) This happens quite often. Organizations pursue incompatible objectives. For example, universities in many countries want simultaneously to pursue the advancement of knowledge and the promotion of citizenship, i.e., the feeling "my country, right or wrong." Something may have to give, perhaps depending on leadership. Sometimes allocation of resources will tell you which priorities are actually being pursued. The actual program permits you to make inferences about the goals and whatever discrepancies exist.

Leadership:

Q: Leadership seems to cross-cut several levels--

A: (JN) You have to look at leadership as you move out into individual projects as it is constituted at that level--the people responsible for making decisions for that project. Then people at general UUIP level become links (or linkages) to that project. Leadership is identified in the formal structure--at the blueprint level at least--although there may be influentials behind the formal structure, and this goes into what is actually happening.

Q: Talks of newly-appointed provost and how she has to more or less carve out her own role so that in that process emphasis on categories shifts as she develops her niche.

A: (JN) Yes, and if she should leave, one would expect shifts again in terms of a new interaction set. It's very tricky to decide just exactly how often to monitor the process.

Linkages:

JN: Enabling most clear--collectivities or entities, very frequently in government, who by their actions, at the blueprint level, found or undo programs and projects. At some levels, there are no such linkages. Top government, for example, has none except for sporadic outbursts of voting.

Functional linkages are all the things you need to do your job. Not only physical resources but such things as information, directives, recommendations, questions.

Q: These inputs--related to decision-making--are very difficult to get.

JN: At any point, you can use only what information is available. Some of this will be loose, not clearly defined. Memoranda do not reflect what goes on because they are public documents whereas what goes on is reality.

Normative linkages involve organizations which may be indirectly involved but whose norms and values have some influence on the functioning of an organization. Almost always there are general taboos or mores of a culture which through their organizational embodiments such as churches may be supporting or contradicting.

Diffuse linkages--no direct authority of any kind but who exist in environment and whose views may effect organizational functioning by display of support or withdrawal, e.g., mass media or public opinion. No direct authority at all but may at times have some bearing.

Q: I was thinking that normative linkages are manifested through diffuse linkages, but one kind may be manifested through traditions of University?

A: (JN) Yes, that is one kind.

Q: What about People's Oakland, which exerts influence only through a value of citizens' rights? No real power except a few votes. There may be many normative linkages of this type, and it seems as if together they constitute a whole sea which is the diffuse linkages.

JN: The important thing is it isn't necessary to place a given organization into only one of these boxes because it may in its different activities have several bearings of different kinds. For example, commonwealth government is enabling but also is providing various resources and services, so it is also functional. Rather than worrying about how to label linkages, we take the black box in which there are the leadership, programs, and so on, but notice that there are some things which go in at the input level, and certain products which go out of it. What goes in are messages and people and resources. Messages include: (1) directives from those in higher positions with which compliance is expected; (2) recommendations which might or might not be followed, e.g., Research Advisory Council; (3) questions which must be paid attention to; and (4) data, information about things in which you are interested, people flowing in who are personnel and leaders and in some organizations like the University, people are also processed, that is, something is being done to them. Resources plant, equipment, materials, money coming in from different sources. What happens when these inputs are not available in the right amount, at the right time, etc.? Impact on the project differs with type of inputs as well as sheer amounts. Every organization also produces something--at the goal level it has certain things it wants to do. Products also are messages, people and sometimes resources, e.g., consumer goods. These kinds of data are what is needed. The most important products of your work are reports. Many researchers had problems with these linkages. Unless a taxonomy facilitates something it should not be used so if these are difficult, if one worries too much, "where should I put this," it is not helpful. Some work has to be done to clarify linkage concepts. The main thing is to be aware of linkages, collect all the relevant data, and not worry at this point about precise classifications.

Q: There seem to be both external and internal types of linkages. Besides those with other organizations, there must be those between, say, leadership and personnel in the same organization.

JN: That's right, it depends on the point of reference. If we are standing outside this box which represents a project, we think of inputs and outputs. But internally, of course, there is also a process of communication, a pattern through which information flows, and is somehow diffused through internal structure. That is correct, but it may not be useful to use the term linkages for that also.

Q: All Outreach Projects represent some kind of interface between the University and some group out in the community, which is as important a box as what is coming out for University.

JN: Of course, there is no reason why after you have looked at this box and identified these boxes around it in terms of input and output, you cannot make another box and make it the center of a new diagram, because the things you are doing to some community organization are only one of the things that happen to it. There are other inputs that flow into it, and it produces certain things. This is the way of really defining a social system if you have the time and energy. The meaning of the system concept is the interdependence of parts.

Q: Where do we stop? This process of diagramming linkage boxes could go on indefinitely.

JN: If I were you, I would stop at the first level, that is to say, the organization you are studying. The boundary of your observations would be set by the box representing UUIP and its internal composition and inputs and outputs and the same constellation for the Outreach project. It would be ideal with enough money to keep moving outward, but time and resources limit you.

General Problems of Use of Institution-Building

JN: Do not at this stage confound data collection with analysis, that is, do not decide at this stage that this (i.e., leadership role) is the problem. First collect the data. Generating these mappings (work sheets) is like a photograph of an operation at a certain point in time. Life is moving but it is like running a series of photographs at a certain rate of speed. Maybe you have to look at the situation every three months or every six months depending on the dynamics of the particular project.

Q: We will try to fill in data about every month and pull it together every three months. There are problems about outreach data and we probably need some of our own staff to observe and collect additional data.

JN: We tried to convince AID of importance of attaching an observer to each project only to act as continuous reporter, a recorder of facts, the social history of the project, without worrying about what it means. This is a matter for analysis, but just the fact of reporting--this is the only way we are going to learn about how organizations evolve and change and function.

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